

TRAVELERS HERE IN THIS VALE OF TEARS:  
WILLIAM PENN PREACHES A FUNERAL SERMON

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ABSTRACT

William Penn, the significant seventeenth-century political figure and writer, was also an important preacher, but his role as a public speaker has received little attention, though at least two of his speeches and twelve of his impromptu sermons have survived. This essay argues that Penn's sermonic work is noteworthy through an examination of his 1688 public response to the death of Rebecca Travers, an important first-generation Quaker leader. Penn's response to Travers' death reveals his struggle to come to grips with the vicissitudes of his own life and, by implication, Travers' life. The sermon is interpreted as an instance of *epideictic* discourse seen against the contexts of Penn's and Travers' lives. In the sermon Penn uses the archetypal metaphor of life's journey in order to arrive at communal definition.

KEYWORDS

William Penn, Rebecca Travers, preaching, sermon, memorial, journey, liminal, *communitas*, *epideictic*

William Penn's (1644–1718) name is familiar to contemporary people if for no other reason than that his family name is connected to the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, or 'Penn's Woods', to recall its original meaning. A statue of Penn still towers over Philadelphia, the 'city of brotherly love', the city he founded. Among historians, Penn is well known as an important seventeenth- and eighteenth-century political figure.<sup>1</sup> His *Fruits of Solitude*, which established Penn as a literary staple, is included in the *Harvard Classics*.<sup>2</sup> What is lesser known is that Penn was also an able public speaker and preacher. At least two of his public speeches have survived<sup>3</sup> and twelve of his sermons are extant in printed form, each originally a product of unknown, but probably non-Quaker, listeners with short hand skills.<sup>4</sup>

Recently, serious scholarship on Penn has been facilitated by the publication of the five-volume *The Papers of William Penn* and two-volume *William Penn on Religion and Ethics*, both of which hold out promise of scholarly rhetorical study by reprinting

essential and important texts by this remarkably overlooked public figure and speaker.<sup>5</sup> In sum, despite Penn's significance to the founding of an important American colony and his spiritual and intellectual contributions to the long-term development of Quakerism, Penn's role as a rhetor has been largely ignored.<sup>6</sup>

In this essay I will address the paucity of writing on Penn as a preacher by focusing attention on his first surviving sermon, delivered on 19 June 1688 at the London memorial service of Rebecca Travers, herself a prominent and largely forgotten early Quaker writer and leader. I will take a 'text in context' approach,<sup>7</sup> beginning with a consideration of the sermon's context. There my focus will be on influences that surrounded Penn's rhetorical choices, including consideration of the speaker himself, his times, the backgrounds of Rebecca Travers and the immediate occasion. Then I will turn to an examination of the sermon's text.<sup>8</sup> Finally, I will argue that the sermon is an exemplary instance of the ancient rhetorical genre of *epideictic* oratory because it achieves the apex to which all attempts in the genre aim: communal definition.

## I

### PENN AND HIS TIMES

Born in London in 1644 to Admiral Sir William Penn and his wife Margaret, the daughter of a wealthy Rotterdam merchant, William Penn was ushered into life with the proverbial silver spoon in his hand. One of the best-educated early Friends, he attended Christ Church College, Oxford from 1660–62, an institution from which he was expelled for religious nonconformity. Frustrated by his son's clear nonconformist leanings, Admiral Penn sent William to France, where, according to the *DNB*, he 'was presented to Louis XIV, and mixed for a time in the brilliant society of the court'.<sup>9</sup> On the continent he studied for a brief period under Moysse Amyraut, an eclectic theologian of the French reformed church (Huguenots), then he began a 'grand tour' by journeying across the Alps, and at length was recalled home by his father, where, after brief service in the Dutch war (in 1644), he studied law for a short time at Lincoln's Inn, London. Penn then 'assisted his father in business and military affairs', some of these requiring attendance at court, where he became a friend of Charles II's brother, James, the man who would later become James II.<sup>10</sup>

Penn's conversion to Quakerism came in 1667, when he was twenty-three years old and tending to his father's affairs in Ireland. In a short space of time, to his father's chagrin, Penn became an ardent public advocate for Quakers and ultimately was imprisoned for seven months in the Tower of London for vocal expression of his beliefs, where he wrote his important theological and devotional work, *No Cross, No Crown* (1669), a work that will presently figure into my analysis of the sermon.

After his release, Penn continued to be a vigorous and articulate spokesperson for the Quaker cause. Persecution of Quakers was rife during the 1660s and 1670s, and the easiest way for authorities to jail Quakers was to arrest them for holding an illegal meeting, a 'conventicle',<sup>11</sup> haul them before the court and demand that the men take off their hats before the judge, and that both men and women swear allegiance to the king. Since early Quakers vigorously opposed 'hat honor' and would never take an

oath because they believed that one should *always* tell the truth, thousands of Quakers landed in jail and lost their property.<sup>12</sup> Penn himself was jailed again in 1670, along with fellow Quaker William Meade. Penn and Meade were arrested for unlawfully speaking at a London Quaker meeting. Their arrest resulted in the famous Penn–Meade trial, which established the right of English, and later American, juries to reach a verdict contrary to a judge’s instructions.<sup>13</sup>

By the 1670s, Penn had become one of the acknowledged leaders among Friends and he used his influence and knowledge of the law to petition Parliament, oppose unjust laws, seek an end to religious persecution, and gain the release of imprisoned Quakers. Eventually, Penn was reconciled with his father, and upon the admiral’s death in 1670, Penn inherited large landholdings in England and Ireland. Penn began to use his wealth and influence in the American colonies (*ANB*).

Penn is best known for his ‘Holy Experiment’ in American colonisation, what would later become the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania. In spite of his intelligence, Penn apparently did not manage his properties well and fell deeply into debt. He began to view an adventure in New World colonisation as a means both of gaining financial ground as well as providing a haven for persecuted Quakers and other oppressed people. In 1681, Penn received a charter for a colony from Charles II in exchange for a debt owed to Admiral Penn by the king. Thus the legal groundwork for Pennsylvania was established. The period between 1681 and 1684 went exceptionally well for Penn and his colony and have been referred to as ‘the high point of his life’.<sup>14</sup> Penn spent almost two years in Pennsylvania, sailing for the colony in August 1682 and returning again to England in August 1684. Penn’s positive accomplishments in the development of the colony are not pertinent to this study. Here it is important only to note that the ‘Holy Experiment’ did not improve Penn’s financial situation as he had anticipated and that he returned to England to defend the boundaries of his colony in court against Lord Baltimore, a battle that he could not realistically wage from America. Penn returned to England deeply in debt and left the colony under the care of inadequate absentee leadership.<sup>15</sup>

The four years leading up to Penn’s sermon at the memorial of Rebecca Travers were tumultuous in the history of England as well as Penn’s life. He was beginning to feel the effects in Quaker circles of his absence from England and negative rumors about conditions in the Pennsylvania colony circulated. He wrote to Margaret Fell shortly after his return to England: ‘I find many wrong stories let in of me, even by some I love; but, blessed be the Lord, they are the effects of envy’.<sup>16</sup> Similarly, outside Quaker circles, Penn’s reputation began to take a turn for the worse, especially with Anglicans and Puritans, among whom he began to be too closely associated with Catholics. In 1685, James II, a Catholic, succeeded Charles II (a secret Catholic), and Penn began to use his influence with his old friend to attempt to bring about greater toleration for dissenters.<sup>17</sup> In the process, Penn became identified in many quarters as having Catholic leanings. Penn wrote his famous *Perswasive to Moderation* during this period as part of his campaign for toleration. In 1685, the king proclaimed a pardon for all ‘imprisoned for conscience’ sake’, probably due to Penn’s influence,<sup>18</sup> and in 1686 Penn traveled to Holland on behalf of the king, but also

participated in Quaker traveling ministry while on the continent. In 1688 he sought to offer advice to James about his policies regarding Nonconformists.<sup>19</sup>

Penn's political influence ended abruptly after the overthrow of James II by William and Mary in December 1688, five months after his sermon at Travers' memorial. With James now in exile, Penn was summoned as an adherent of the former king, eventually arrested, and accused of treason by the new government.<sup>20</sup> It is important to note here that late during this period, at a time nestled between his return to England in 1684 and the 'Glorious Revolution' in 1688, Penn took time out from his stressful schedule to attend and preach at the memorial service of Rebecca Travers, ten months before the passage of the Act of Toleration, in May 1689, a law that would usher in 'a new era for Friends and other Nonconformists'.<sup>21</sup>

The details of the last thirty years of Penn's life are not directly germane to this study, although it will be seen that his life bears out everything he said about life's journey in his sermon. It may suffice to say that Penn's financial life and reputation continued to slide downhill for the period of time immediately following his memorial sermon, and he continued to lose favor with some important Quakers. For a time, he actually refused to be seen in public for fear of arrest.<sup>22</sup>

#### REBECCA TRAVERS, THE DECEASED

Rebecca Travers (1609–1688) was an important leader in Quakerism's first generation. Raised as a devout Baptist and student of the Bible, she converted to Quakerism in 1654, at the age of forty-six, after a period of intellectual and spiritual struggle set in motion initially when she attended a public dispute between Baptists and the Quaker firebrand, James Nayler, who once rivaled George Fox for leadership of the movement and was also one of its most controversial public figures.<sup>23</sup> In 1656, Nayler allowed himself to ride into the city of Bristol on a donkey, while women accompanying him spread garments in his path singing 'Holy, holy, holy, Lord God of Israel'.<sup>24</sup> Braithwaite notes that Nayler was arrested, received 310 lashes with a knotted chord, had his tongue pierced through by a hot iron, and was branded with the letter 'B' on his forehead (for 'blasphemer'). Travers, who was not among the women who attended Nayler on his notorious and misguided 'triumphal entry' into Bristol, nevertheless dressed his wounds in prison, remarking: 'There was not a space of a man's nail free from stripes and blood from his shoulders near to his waste'.<sup>25</sup> Although Nayler subsequently rued his poor judgment, and in essence ceded the Quaker movement to George Fox, the Bristol incident triggered an immediate negative impact on Quakerism, including discouragement, public scandal, increased public disturbances at Quaker meetings, and division among Quakers.<sup>26</sup> Outside of Quaker circles, the affair left 'a deep impression of the dangerous tendencies of Quaker principles'.<sup>27</sup> Upon Nayler's release from Bridewell Prison in 1659, Rebecca and John Travers (Rebecca's husband) housed Nayler in their London residence through most of the year 1660. Nayler eventually died in October of 1660 after a beating by a highwayman. Travers had a long association with Nayler. Earlier she had written prefaces to some of Nayler's tracts and later petitioned Parliament on his behalf for a cessation of punishment.<sup>28</sup> Her behavior from the time of her 'convince-

ment' through Nayler's disastrous Bristol affair, to the time of Nayler's extreme punishment and early death, was uniformly marked both by good sense and compassion. These qualities, coupled with what the *DNB* calls her reputation as a 'fearless and powerful preacher', marked Travers as a much sought after leader among Quakers.<sup>29</sup>

The remainder of Travers' seventy-nine year life included two imprisonments at Newgate, ministry of care for the 'sick, poor, and prisoners', hosting at her home the very significant 'Second Day's Morning Meeting' of Quaker public ministers, and membership (in 1671) of the Quaker court of appeal, the 'Six Weeks Meeting'.<sup>30</sup> Though her close association with Nayler may have troubled some Quakers, George Fox found himself a frequent visitor to the Travers' home.<sup>31</sup> Christine Trevett indicates that Travers authored seven pamphlets,<sup>32</sup> but the *DNB* claims that she was 'responsible for ten small works, including a volume of religious verse...also... "The Work of God in a Dying Maid", London, 1677...the account of the conversion to Quakerism and subsequent death of Susan Withrow, a modish [*sic*] young lady of fifteen'. In a note, Trevett writes: 'The majority of early Quaker women writers produced just one tract or prophetic "proclamation" of c. 8pp in length' and 'the nine who published five or more tracts were little known as preachers or leaders'.<sup>33</sup> Apparently, then, Travers was an exceptional person who published at least seven works and was also a powerful preacher and leader. By any reckoning, Travers was accounted a 'weighty Friend' by other Quakers.

#### QUAKERS AND MEMORIALIZING

There are two universal human events over which we have little direct control, but which nevertheless alter our lives profoundly: birth and death. Accordingly, cultures have developed significant and sometimes elaborate rituals that intensify the meanings of both events. In his important recent study of the consolatory rituals of ancient Greco-Roman culture, Donovan J. Ochs has observed:

Death calls for a communal rhetoric in which the community both produces and consumes the consolatory persuasive messages. In [Kenneth] Burke's terms, acts, actions, and actors merge. The community persuades and is persuaded. Communities are sustained by rituals...and rhetoric plays a significant role in ritual. Since this is so, the importance of rhetoric to a community and to the maintenance of the community is greater than usually believed. Rhetoric, the rationale of instrumental and symbolic behavior, lies at the very heart of community.<sup>34</sup>

Like most religious cultures, from their beginnings Quakers paid considerable attention to the passing of loved ones, not with the type of sometimes elaborate rituals about which Ochs has written, but with the same intent: to reinforce a sense of community and offer consolation for those who remain behind. Commencing in the late seventeenth century, the task of memorializing took on increased significance for Friends partly because the earliest leaders of the movement—people like Rebecca Travers—were passing away. Quakers began to honor some of their deceased noteworthy leaders by the publication of their spiritual journals, to which were attached memorials by significant Quaker leaders or local representatives from their own

Quaker meetings. For example, Penn wrote the preface to George Fox's *Journal*, where he commented on Fox's power in prayer. Penn wrote: 'The most awful, living, reverent frame I ever felt or beheld, I must say, was his in prayer'.<sup>35</sup> Braithwaite notes that beginning in 1676 the Yearly Meeting directed that 'the names, travels, faithfulness and unblamable conversations of all the public labourers that are deceased' be carefully recorded.<sup>36</sup> Although the printed journal really came to dominate Quaker publications during the eighteenth century, its beginnings can be traced to the latter part of the seventeenth century. Braithwaite writes that the first Quaker journal was that of William Caton, which included a memorial preface by George Fox. John Burnyeat's journal followed, with a memorial preface by Penn.<sup>37</sup> Thus the pattern of public memorializing in print was established early on and Penn became an active and significant memorializer.<sup>38</sup>

On the other hand, memorial meetings, convened in silence, but where anyone might speak if they felt moved by the Spirit of God, were also an important part of early Quaker culture. Here, as in all early Quaker meetings, the 'ritual' was supremely simple. People gathered in silence. Any man or woman would have the freedom to speak out of the silence if they believed they were moved to speak by the 'Inward Light' of Christ. In 1678, Robert Barclay, the early Quaker apologist, succinctly captured the essence of the Quaker practice of impromptu preaching in the context of the silent meeting with this summary: 'The worship, preaching, praying and singing, which we plead for, is such as proceedeth from the Spirit of God, and is always accompanied by its influence, being begun by its motion, and carried on by the power and strength thereof'.<sup>39</sup> Specifically, when Penn stood to his feet in the meeting for worship to honor the memory of Rebecca Travers, his hearers would be expecting him, and any other speaker in the meeting, to speak as an 'oracle' of God, as if motivated by the *immediate* leading of the Spirit, in an unrehearsed and totally unprepared message.

The eighteenth-century itinerant Quaker minister, Samuel Bownas, elaborated on the principles of Quaker preaching set out by Barclay and others, as well as the tradition of Quaker sermonizing, and also commented at length on the process of preparing oneself for the arduous task of impromptu preaching. In his *A Description of the Qualifications Necessary to a Gospel Minister* (1750) Bownas explicated an approach to sermonizing that would produce a piece of discourse composed of language that was chosen at the moment of utterance and not employed as frivolous or ostentatious decoration, or chosen merely to impress the hearers by calling attention to itself. As at all Quaker meetings for worship, the formal content of the sermon might take the form of commentary on or application of scripture, exhortation, advice, instruction, or testimony based on personal spiritual experience.<sup>40</sup>

Curiously, despite the importance of oral and printed memorials among early Friends, only two full-text funeral sermons survive from the period before 1700, one being William Penn's impromptu sermon delivered at Rebecca Travers' memorial.<sup>41</sup> Having sketched the outlines of the context that informed the sermon and out of which the sermon emerged, I will now turn to an examination of the sermon text itself.

## II

## THE SERMON TEXT

Penn's memorial sermon is not lengthy, consisting of only 1365 words arranged by a printer into eight paragraphs without a concluding prayer.<sup>42</sup> The printer's paragraph choices actually make good sense because the sermon does not follow a conventional outline format. Each of the eight paragraphs develops an essential idea, which are as follows: (1) the *Word* endures, whereas times and seasons change; (2) if we attend to the *Word*, we will stand before the Lord in the end; (3) travelers on a heavenly pilgrimage set their faces, travel on, and ultimately escape the 'second death'; (4) the inner person is changed from mortality into immortality, and, ultimately, those that wait on the Lord are 'above changes' of time and mortality; (5) the intent of standing in the eternal *Word* was the deceased Friend's 'reviving cordial', and we should remember God's past help and, like the deceased, persevere as a 'peculiar people'; (6) we are travelers on an earthly pilgrimage to a New Jerusalem, a city made by God; (7) if we abide in the *Word*, which is God, until the end of our days, we will have eternal life, when time shall be no more; and (8) may the Lord preserve you so that you can live, die and be gathered to eternity.

When I first read Penn's sermon, I was struck both by his choice of topics as well as their sequence. If I expected a review of Rebecca Travers' remarkable life, complete with dramatic and specific highlights of her influence and godly virtues, I was disappointed. I expected Penn, even working within the constraints of the early Quaker impromptu approach, to begin the memorial sermon with a direct reference to Rebecca Travers, or at least a reference to her life. We have heard sufficient funeral sermons in our lives to expect something quite different from what is offered. Instead, Penn begins with the serious pronouncement, 'Time and seasons pass away, but the word of the Lord endureth forever' [¶ 1].<sup>43</sup> With the change occasioned by Travers' death weighing heavily on his hearers' minds, at the outset Penn opts to draw their attention away from the relentless wheel of time and mortality that someone's death occasions to a higher and more transcendent level, the realm of the timeless, changeless *Word* that endures forever. With this exordium, Penn signals to his audience that he will be juxtaposing the mutable so-called 'real' world of everyday existence against the immutable 'true' world of the eternal *Word*. The contrast of mutable vs. immutable is the *spine* of the sermon, and Penn seizes the occasion of Travers' passing as an opportunity to remind his hearers that she, though herself obviously mutable, likewise believed in the immutable, eternal *Word*. In effect, Penn reduces Rebecca Travers and her life's details in light of the awesome face of immutable, ineffable profundity. Penn *never* mentions Travers by name and he does not refer to her directly until the fifth paragraph, 762 words into the sermon, more than halfway through. Immediately prior to the place in the sermon where Penn speaks directly about Travers, though not by name, he counsels his hearers:

In this eternal word which is God, know your eternal habitation and wait upon God in it... In this the righteous begin, in this they travel on. Blessed are they that walk by

faith, that live to the Lord and die in the Lord and shall be forever with the Lord. They are blessed that wait upon the Lord for the sense of this. They are above all the changes of time and mortality [¶ 4].

Only after this stirring, balanced, and cadenced reminder that people who wait in the presence of the eternal *Word* gain ground against 'time and mortality' will Penn acknowledge Travers' life with these words: 'It is this [belief in the eternal *Word*] that was a reviving cordial to our deceased friend, who received the truth in early days, the days of the dawning of God's power in this land and in this city. The remembrance of it was sweet to her soul' [¶ 5]. Then, without hesitation, without a hint of sentimental reflection on Travers, Penn acknowledges her personal spiritual experience during the 'early days' of Quakerism and applies this biographical kernel directly to his hearers, encouraging them to emulate Travers, who never forgot the spiritual power of the early Friends movement:

Let us remember the love of God and the power and glory of the name of the everlasting God that shined then, that we may be encouraged to keep together as a peculiar people to the praise of him that hath called us out of darkness into his marvelous light, that God over all may be glorified for ever, that we may live to the honor of his blessed name; that Christ's kingdom may be set up among us and that God's great name and power and majesty may be exalted and all flesh abased before him [¶ 5].

To Penn, the brief moment he accords to the remembrance of Travers' life, a long life of commitment and self-sacrifice, becomes an opportunity to call the audience to increased vigilance for the Quaker cause, captured in his phrase 'that Christ's kingdom may be set up among us'. The sequence of these quotations is revealing. Penn acknowledges that 'waiting' for the 'eternal word which is God' is a challenging business because his hearers still live in a mutable world where darkness is ever present and where God's kingdom is not yet fully realised. The Quaker way is presented as a struggle against the dark side of change, where even the best of persons from time to time may need a 'reviving cordial', a 'remembrance' of the dawn of God's power. In the end, though, there is hope of eventual immutability in eternity.

This theme is picked up later in the sermon when Penn directs his hearers once again to the *source* of immutability:

To this word which is God I commit and commend you and all the flock of God, that you may be preserved to the end of your days, that you may then lay down your heads in peace, that your testimony may not end before your lives end, that the Lord may be with us to shelter and overshadow us in the midst of all our trials and exercises [¶ 7].

Penn does not have to remind his hearers that Travers had been jailed twice at Newgate Prison for her faith, but at the moment Penn spoke, although the gathered group was still under the threat of 'conventicle' laws, Quakers were actually experiencing a lessening of persecution and would eventually achieve a level of relative safety in English society with the passage of the Act of Toleration ten months later. Perhaps Penn's encouragement to his hearers to 'keep together as a peculiar people' is an indication of his fear that a measure of "respectability" and freedom from persecution might bring about a gradual lessening of spiritual ardor—that there was a



real possibility that their collective and individual testimonies might well 'end before their lives', that the dark, mutable forces might triumph over the immutable powers. In any case, these quotations indicate that Penn is intent on reminding his listeners that the spiritual life is arduous and highly subject to influences and changes that might drastically affect their eternal destiny.

From his exordium on, Penn employs some of the 'key' metaphors early Quakers culled from the biblical canon, metaphors such as 'light' and 'dark' in the quotations above,<sup>44</sup> but in this sermon, Penn turns consistently to the powerful metaphor of the spiritual journey. It becomes his primary symbolic means of revealing that human life is changeable, unpredictable, and stressful for the pilgrim, but that the journey has a goal that, once achieved, will place the pilgrim in an eternal, permanent place, a 'home'.<sup>45</sup> It seems an especially apt choice to capture the tension between the mutable and the immutable.

The journey metaphor is explicated by George Roppen and Richard Sommer in *Strangers and Pilgrims: An Essay on the Metaphor of Journey*.<sup>46</sup> They describe the figure of journey as the 'metaphor of narration, of duration, extension, and purpose' and note that 'Space and time operate in the metaphor under the control of a single element, a purpose or teleological force'. In Penn's sermon, the journey's purpose is identification and ultimate union with God, the changeless, eternal *Word*. This strong teleological element, in this case linked to a sense of both destination and the defeat of time, is what makes the spiritual journey different from aimless wandering or purposeless movement. In the sermon, the tension between the concepts (and images) of 'mutable' and 'immutable' finds poignant expression in the journey metaphor. The pilgrim journeys on an unpredictable and changing path in order to attain a permanent, changeless, eternal home.<sup>47</sup>

Penn employs several words and phrases that express the metaphor of the spiritual journey, including: 'heavenly race', 'travelers', 'heavenly pilgrimage', 'walk', 'walking', 'travel on', 'walk by faith', 'vale of tears', and 'earthly pilgrimage'. These terms emphasise the processual nature of pilgrimage or spiritual journey. Process by definition involves change or mutability, and the journey, as Victor Turner argues, places the pilgrim into a 'liminal' state—the state of flux in which the pilgrim finds him-/herself after leaving a more 'settled' life.<sup>48</sup> Turner describes liminality as 'an interval, however brief, of margin or limen, when the past is momentarily negated, suspended, or abrogated, and the future has not yet begun, an instant of pure potentiality when everything, as it were, trembles in the balance'.<sup>49</sup> 'Liminal' circumstances, or threshold states, can produce a very great potential for change in an individual's interior world and his/her response to exterior events or persons. The change may be good, bad, or mixed, but it is unavoidable. Penn employs the process-oriented terms for the journey to emphasise the tentativeness and vulnerability of spiritual commitment.

On the other hand, Penn employs terms from the metaphor of journey that stress a fixed, teleological end, a destination, a place, a habitation, a city. These terms include: 'haven of everlasting rest', 'land of rest', 'heavenly Canaan', 'Land of Promise', 'heavenly country', 'New Jerusalem', 'region where all time shall be swallowed up', and 'house not made with hands'. Here the final eternal fixity is captured in

words like 'home' or 'city' whose 'builder and maker is God', and in that marvelously integrative phrase: 'eternal kingdom and region where all time shall be swallowed up' [¶ 4]. At journey's end, process is overcome by place and mutability is displaced by the immutable.

Much more could be uncovered in this rich text, but having indicated the conceptual spine of the sermon and the sermon's most pervasive and significant metaphor, I will now draw out some further implications of context with respect to the sermon text.

If we turn to the sermon's context, especially what we know about Penn's perilous financial state, the threats to his colony, and his slippery political fortunes, we can see that Penn was speaking to himself as well as his hearers about the folly of depending on the outcome of earthly or 'worldly' resources. The disposition of his colony and estate were at that point in serious question and, although he still had influence with James II, he possessed the political insight to know that James' open Catholicism might eventually cause his downfall in a country so influenced by Protestantism and Puritan thought, which is exactly what did happen shortly after Penn's sermon. Penn even invoked the title of his significant earlier work, *No Cross, No Crown*, in the body of the sermon when he expressed the hope 'that the Lord may be with us to shelter and overshadow us in the midst of all our trials and exercises while we are following Christ in patience, humility, and self-denial, and bearing his cross, for no cross, no crown' [¶ 7]. Paradoxically, the fortunes of his hearers would immediately improve with the 'Glorious Revolution' and the passage of the Act of Toleration, partially due to Penn's influence, but Penn's fortunes would not improve. His sermon's themes and images are strikingly similar to the concluding pages of Penn's original (1669) version of *No Cross, No Crown*, where he reminds his readers that persecution—the cross—naturally follows from a personal decision to turn from 'the Sins and Vanities of a perishing World'.<sup>50</sup>

Mind not the difficulties of your March; great and good things were never interpriz'd [sic] and accomplished without difficulty, and hardship, which always render their injoyment [sic] but the more pleasant and glorious in the end... There are among us... [those] who have not been without the exercise of suffering the displeasure of their most dear and intimate Relations and Friends; and all those troubles, disgraces, & reproaches, which are accustomed to attend such as forgo the honours, pleasures, ambition, and preferments of the World, and rather chuse to live an humble, serious, and self-denying life.<sup>51</sup>

Penn ends the printed work with reference to the 'crown' to be attained, using some of the same triumphal themes as the sermon's:

as for the Redeemed and Sanctified of God, who have followed Jesus in the narrow path of Regeneration, and not loved their lives unto the death, their sorrow shall fly away, every tear shall be wiped from their eyes, and sighing shall be heard no more within their Borders.<sup>52</sup>

Many of Penn's hearers would have been familiar with his important tract. With his direct reference to *No Cross, No Crown*, Penn appears to be valorizing, justifiably and brilliantly, his own and Rebecca Travers' suffering for righteousness' sake.

Travers' example of perseverance to the end is very much related to Penn's present circumstance. Travers, after all, was Nayler's convert and friend. Because of her Christian principles, she helped a man who had acted foolishly. She allied herself to a man who was judged as an enemy to Quakerism by many Friends. Eventually, though, Travers' herself was judged a just and righteous woman. Likewise, Penn had remained a friend of James II in the face of his overt Catholicism and despite the potential ramifications to Penn's reputation. Eventually, Penn too might look forward to a day when he would be judged just and righteous by fellow Quakers. The deep and unexpressed parallelism surely must have been noted by many listeners. In the analogous set of personal commitments we may well discover something of Penn's motivation to stand in the meeting and speak about Travers, identifying himself rhetorically with her.

Similarly, while he spoke, Penn, and perhaps some of his hearers, may have recalled this passage from Travers' 1658 tract, *A Message from the Spirit of Truth Unto the Holy Seed*:

You that have received the earnest of this Spirit, hath he not said, I will dwell in you, and walke in you? Wherefore come out from among them and be you separate. This is the joy that is set before you, to wit, his appearance, and that glory, for the attaining whereof, we endure the present sufferings, and reproach; not to be compared therewith, for glory, immortality, eternal life.<sup>53</sup>

Clearly Penn and Travers shared a belief in the necessity of the temporal cross in order to attain the immutable crown.

Let me now deal briefly with Penn's apparent 'reduction' of Travers' life in the sermon. Unfortunately, I have been unable to locate any reference to Rebecca Travers' memorial in secondary or primary sources at LSF. It is unlikely, though, that Penn was the only person 'moved' to speak at the meeting, in which case he would not find it necessary to review Travers' life if previous speakers had done so. On the other hand, if Penn was the only speaker, or if he were the initial speaker at the meeting, then we may speculate about his omission of Travers' name and decision not to speak of her directly until comparatively late in the sermon. I would suggest that in either case, Penn seeks to situate Travers' life (and his own) within the larger narrative of the universal human journey, the pilgrimage from a transitory to a permanent state. Within this larger framework, though Rebecca Travers' death is significant, the vulnerability of those who remain is even more significant. Travers had made her decision and gone to her reward, her 'habitation' in the eternal Word', but those who remained, those in Penn's audience—Penn himself—were still 'in process', in the 'limen'. Thus Penn seeks to warn his hearers, and himself, to persevere and be 'preserved' until their deaths. Penn turned the rhetorical moment to a high-stakes venture.

In the context of the epideictic genre of public address, Penn's strategic choices in the sermon allowed him to produce an exemplary instance of funeral oratory. Celeste Michelle Condit has developed a theory of epideictic discourse<sup>54</sup> that attempts to meld the long history of important and somewhat conflicting writings about epideictic or ceremonial oratory, all of which began with Aristotle, who first divided the art

of rhetoric into three genres, one of which was epideictic.<sup>55</sup> Condit's theory is elegant and multifaceted, but for purposes of this essay I should like to focus on the substance of her theory as it relates directly to Penn's achievement in the sermon. Condit argues that epideictic oratory may serve one or more of three functions. The first function, 'definition and understanding', occurs when the speaker explains 'the troubling issue in terms of the audience's key values and beliefs', thus the event 'will be made less confusing and threatening, providing a sense of comfort for the audience'. Condit also notes that the speaker him-/herself may also achieve a sense of comfort 'in a world publicly tamed by her or his explanations'.<sup>56</sup> Clearly, Penn explained to his hearers the ramifications of the Christian journey, made Travers' death meaningful, and positioned his own trials within the framework of both the journey metaphor as well as with the juxtaposition of mutability in the face of eternity. As I have already suggested, in this regard, Penn's sermon was directed as much to himself as his hearers.

Condit's second function of epideictic is 'shaping and sharing community'. Condit observes that 'Whenever change intrudes into the community's life, the epideictic speaker will be called forth by the community to help discover what the event means to the community, and what the community will come to be in the face of the new event'.<sup>57</sup> Penn's sermon was 'called forth' on the occasion of a significant matriarch's death. The community not only grieved Travers' passing, but looked ahead to the disappearance of the entire first generation of Friends. This was a liminal or watershed moment. The community needed reassurance and direction and Penn applied Quakerism's past values and beliefs to a current, troubling situation. In Condit's words, Penn helped the community '[renew] its conception of itself and of what is good by explaining what it has previously held to be good and by working through the relationships of those past values and beliefs to a new situation'.<sup>58</sup>

Condit's notion of 'shaping and sharing community' is also related in significant ways to Penn's choice of the journey or pilgrimage metaphor in the sermon. On the connection of community and the journey or pilgrimage, Victor Turner writes that fellow pilgrims develop a special kind of community while on the journey together: spontaneous 'communitas'—the unique fellowship of pilgrimage.<sup>59</sup> In spontaneous communitas, a sense of fellowship is developed that is characterised by conversation that is a 'direct, immediate and total confrontation of human identities'.<sup>60</sup> Turner notes there is something 'magical' about it, asserting that 'when the mood, style, or 'fit' of spontaneous communitas is upon us, we place a high value on personal honesty, openness, and lack of pretensions or pretentiousness'.<sup>61</sup> Such communication takes place more readily in the liminal state where all pilgrims become identified together in some sense as marginal or even oppressed people. In the sermon Penn explicitly reminds his listeners that Quakers have been marginal people who have endured the trials that their faith made inevitable—after all, no cross, no crown—and that their community more than ever depends on their commitment to the *Word* and to each other, 'that we may be encouraged to keep together as a peculiar people to the praise of him that hath called us out of darkness into his marvellous light' (¶5). Viewed against the backdrop of Penn's recent 'wordly' fortunes, his sermon seems implicitly to argue that his fellow Quaker pilgrims should practice less gossip, engage

in a more direct style of communication, placing 'a high value on personal honesty, openness, and lack of pretensions or pretentiousness'.<sup>62</sup> A vision of individual mortality, awakened by Rebecca Travers' recent death, plus a heightened sense of community identification, both auger for a community life lived on a higher plane.

Condit's third function of epideictic address, the 'display and entertainment' function, merits explanation in light of early Quaker strictures against language or performance used for ostentation or mere entertainment. Condit argues that 'ceremonial occasions invite the speaker to display her or his eloquence...the combination of truth, beauty and power in human speech'.<sup>63</sup> Condit observes that the epideictic situation 'offers speakers the opportunity for creativity by releasing them from concern with specific issues and charging them to take on broader vistas'. In light of this observation, we see that Penn used the occasion of Travers' death not to concentrate on her death, or even her life, but to help his audience attain the 'broader vista' of the much larger concern about the implications of change on the entire Quaker community. Condit also observes that the audience is 'entertained' by epideictic performances in 'a most humane manner'. The hearers, she writes, 'are allowed to stretch their daily experiences into meanings more grand, sweet, noble, or delightful'. In the epideictic situation, Condit notes, the audience also 'judges the display of the speaker, because the speaker may well present eloquence as a means of self promotion'. Audiences 'take eloquence as a sign of leadership', Condit acknowledges, and thus 'the person who knows truth, recognises and wields beauty, and manages power stands a good chance of being a desirable leader for the community'.<sup>64</sup> Using Condit's observations about the 'display and entertainment' function of epideictic as a lens through which to view Penn's 'performance', we see that he implicitly presents himself to his hearers as an eloquent spokesperson, a desirable leader, despite what they may have heard about his supposed mismanagement of business matters or his alleged Catholic leanings. Arguably, Penn's sermon is an exemplar of what Condit calls 'the most humane of human entertainments and a most important public display', and all within the challenging context of Quaker impromptu preaching style.

There is yet one final application of Condit's theory of epideictic to Penn's sermon that bears mention. Condit remarks that individual epideictic performances that actually accomplish or excel in all three functions are rare. In those rare historical instances, Condit suggests that 'the most complete or "paradigmatic" rhetoric is discovered, where all three functions or elements produce a sense of "communal definition"'.<sup>65</sup> Condit describes these rare 'paradigmatic' speeches in this way:

In speeches which define the community and the situations it faces, the speaker displays leadership and is judged for the humane vision with which the audience is 'entertained'. Simultaneously, the audience gains understanding of its shared self as community is created, experienced, and performed'.

The apex of epideictic oratory, the 'complete epideictic', Condit calls 'the speech of communal definition'.

Penn's funeral sermon accomplishes all three of Condit's functions of epideictic and is therefore a candidate for 'exemplary' and perhaps 'paradigmatic' status among epideictic speeches, at least within its subcategory of impromptu addresses. I have not

discovered anything about the audience response to this particular piece of public discourse, but the text itself offers abundant evidence of an eloquent invitation to both communal renewal and, by implication, reconsideration of the speaker as a Quaker leader. The sermon's peroration best captures Penn's communal vision in an eloquent benediction reminiscent of Rom. 16.25 and Heb. 13.20:

The Lord preserve you by his mighty power in his favor and divine presence, that you may live to his glory and praise, and die in peace and be gathered into that blessed and heavenly assembly and church of the first-born which are written in heaven, and to God the judge of all, and the spirits of just men made perfect, and to Jesus the mediator of the new covenant, and the blood of sprinkling that speaketh better things than that of Abel; that you may eternally magnify and celebrate the praises of the eternal God, to whom be glory for ever and ever. Amen [¶ 8].

### CONCLUSION

In this essay I hope to have advanced William Penn's status in the sphere of public oral discourse studies. In light of his skill at public address, his absence in scholarly writing on rhetoric and public address is puzzling. One wonders if his forthright expression of Christian theology is embarrassing to the contemporary secular academy. Perhaps his financial and political failures later in life have resulted in cautious appraisal. It is my hope that this examination of Penn as epideictic speaker and impromptu preacher reveals the man in a different light.

Penn was a man of his age who possessed impressive intellectual and rhetorical gifts, which he used to further what he believed were the best causes and particularly the correct path for Quakers. In spite of his political and business failures, we have seen that he was nevertheless a skilled rhetorical craftsman, as adept in the challenging context of the Quaker impromptu sermon as he was with quill on paper.

### APPENDIX

A Sermon Preached by Mr. William Penn, Upon occasion of the death of  
Mrs. Rebecca Travers, an Aged Servant of God; June 19, 1688

Source: [Penn, W.], *The Concurrence and Unanimity; of the People Called Quakers*, London: J. Sowle, 1711, pp. 73-77.

[1] Time and seasons pass away, but the word of the Lord endureth forever. And it is that which hath been the root of life to the heritage of God in all ages and generations, that from whence their joy and hope always sprung, that in which their faith was finished; it was their alpha and it was their omega. In this the righteous begun and set forth, and by this they were preserved in their heavenly race till they came to their great end, the prize of their high calling, the haven of everlasting rest after all the storms and tempests of time; it was this they had their eye to in the beginning, and it was their joy that opened in the eternal word, by which they were quickened and revived, and that caused them to endure to the end without fainting, and you shall likewise by patient continuance in well doing, in due time reap if you faint not. It was the word of God to the children of God of old, and it is His word in this day to us: 'You shall reap if you faint not'. Blessed are you that are called into the vineyard. You shall have an everlasting harvest. If you faint not now, you shall reap then. What shall you reap? Vanity and vexation of spirit, and disappointment? No. You shall reap glory, honor, immortality, and eternal life.

[2] So friends, though every day we have renewed occasions of remembering our latter end, yet there is that which never shall have an end hath dawned unto us, which hath been presented to our view in this glorious day of our visitation; if we lift up our eyes to it and have regard to it, in our rising up and lying down, in our going out and coming in, and in all we put our hands unto, and if we place our interests and portions therein, then our minds will be established, and we shall not be ashamed now, nor blush before the Lord hereafter. If our hearts condemn us not, we shall have boldness before God.

[3] So shall all travelers that have regard to the word of truth while they are in their heavenly pilgrimage; they set their faces Zionward and go on not fainting, not doubting, not desponding. They have an eye to the Lord Jesus Christ and have their hearts kept by that word that abides forever; their belief and hope is beyond time, fixed upon that which God hath owned to be His word before the world was, and shall be, when time and this world shall be no more; the outward garment which shall be worn while it last, shall then be put off. Blessed are they that know the white linen, that which is whole and all of a piece, that God giveth to His children that love the Lord Jesus in sincerity who is the resurrection and the life. He that comes to know and experience this, the second death shall have no power over him.

[4] Now this change is not only in the outward man, but in the inner man. There is a putting off of that which is fading, mortal, and perishing, and a being clothed upon with immortality and glory. Blessed are they which come to receive that word of God, which hath been the life of God in our souls. This is a day of life to us. Blessed are they that shall be placed in that eternal kingdom and region where all time shall be swallowed up and all tears wiped from their eyes, and fighting and sorrow shall be no more. O friends, lift up your heads for the day of redemption draweth nigh. That you may not be shaken by every wind of doctrine, know that the foundation standeth sure, that is his word that was in the beginning with God, that word that was God. In this eternal word which is God, know your eternal habitation and wait upon God in it; it was David's buckler, his shield and strong tower. It was his rock. God set his feet upon a rock that is higher than man's power and all man's wisdom and strength. In this the righteous begin, in this they travel on. Blessed are they that walk by faith, that live to the Lord and die in the Lord and shall be forever with the Lord. They are blessed that wait upon the Lord for the sense of this. They are above all the changes of time and mortality.

[5] It is this that was a reviving cordial to our deceased friend, who received the truth in early days, the days of the dawning of God's power in this land and in this city. The remembrance of it was sweet to her soul. Let us remember the love of God and the power and glory of the name of the everlasting God that shined then, that we may be encouraged to keep together as a peculiar people to the praise of him that hath called us out of darkness into his marvelous light, that God over all may be glorified for ever, that we may live to the honor of his blessed name; that Christ's kingdom may be set up among us and that God's great name and power and majesty may be exalted and all flesh abased before him.

[6] We are travelers here in this vale of tears, in this earthly pilgrimage into the land of rest, the heavenly Canaan. Let us follow our blessed Joshua that is leading us into that land of promise, and he will give to everyone his lot, and they shall stand in that lot in the last day. O blessed are they that are waiting for their lot and portion in that heavenly country to which Abraham had his eye, that city, the New Jerusalem the mother of us all, and that house not made with hands eternal in the heavens, whose builder and maker is God.

[7] This word, which I have been speaking of, is that by which we are humbled and bowed before the Lord and instructed in judgment and righteousness. To this word which is God I commit and commend you and all the flock of God, that you may be preserved to the end of your days, that you may then lay down your heads in peace, that your testimony may not end before your lives end, that the Lord may be with us to shelter and overshadow us in the midst of all our trials and exercises while we are following Christ in patience, humility, and self-denial, and bearing his cross, for no cross, no crown. That which is pleasing to God is walking by faith. What is this faith? A pure resolution of living to God in a holy dependence on him, and a committing our

selves entirely to him, that so we may know and enjoy the purifying virtue of his word, that we may not offend God, for '...without faith', saith the Apostle, 'it is impossible to please him'; 'By what means', saith the royal psalmist, 'shall a young man cleanse his way? By taking heed according to thy word'. This is the blessed word that hath been a root of life in all ages. Let us abide to [*sic*] this word to the end of our days and we shall then be blessed with that life which shall never end but shall remain when time shall be no more.

[8] The Lord preserve you by his mighty power in his favor and divine presence, that you may live to his glory and praise, and die in peace and be gathered into that blessed and heavenly assembly and church of the first-born which are written in heaven, and to God the judge of all, and the spirits of just men made perfect, and to Jesus the mediator of the new covenant, and the blood of sprinkling that speaketh better things than that of Abel; that you may eternally magnify and celebrate the praises of the eternal God, to whom be glory for ever and ever. Amen.

#### NOTES

1. The entries on Penn in Stephen, L., and Lee, S. (eds), *The Dictionary of National Biography*, vol. 15, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1917, repr. 1973 (hereafter *DNB*) and Malone, D. (ed.), *Dictionary of American Biography*, vol. 17, New York: Charles Scriber's Sons, 1934 (hereafter *ANB*) command nine and four pages, respectively, alerting the reader to the fact that Penn was a person of significance on both sides of the Atlantic.

2. 'Some Fruits of Solitude' [1693] and 'More Fruits of Solitude' [1702] were published in Eliot, C.E. (ed.), *The Autobiography of Benjamin Franklin, the Journal of John Woolman, Fruits of Solitude*, New York: P.F. Collier & Son, 1909, the first volume of the famous fifty-volume collection of 'must read', turn of the nineteenth-century canon.

3. 'The Speech of William Penn to His Majesty, Upon His Delivering the Quakers Address' (May 1687) and 'The Gouvenour's Speech to the Assembly, at Philadelphia, the fifteenth of September 1701', discussed in Bronner, E.B., and Fraser, D., *William Penn's Published Writings, 1660-1726: An Interpretive Bibliography*, The papers of William Penn, 5, Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, 1986, pp. 344-46, 483-85.

4. The sermons are found in [Penn, W.], *The Concurrence and Unanimity; of the People Called Quakers*, London: J. Sowle, 1711; *The Harmony of Divine and Heavenly Doctrines*, London: J. Sowle, 1723; and *A Farewell Sermon Preached by William Penn on Sunday being the 6th Instant, at the Quakers Meeting-house at Westminster*, London, 1699.

5. Dunn, R.S., and Dunn, M.M. (eds), *The Papers of William Penn*, 5 vols., Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, 1986; and Barbour, H.S. (ed.), *William Penn on Religion and Ethics: The Emergence of Liberal Quakerism*, 2 vols., Studies in American Religion, 53, Lewiston, NY: Edwin Mellen Press, 1991.

6. Penn's sermons are included in a larger study of surviving early Quaker sermons in Graves, M.P., 'The Rhetoric of the Inward Light: An Examination of Extant Sermons Delivered by Early Quakers, 1671-1700', PhD diss., University of Southern California, 1972, and in *idem*, 'Key Metaphors in Early Quaker Sermons', *Quarterly Journal of Speech* 69 (1983), pp. 364-78.

7. A clear presentation of this approach can be found in Andrews, J.R., Leff, M.C., and Terrill, R., *Reading Rhetorical Texts: An Introduction to Criticism*, Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1998, pp. 5-81.

8. One of the best explanations of and apologetic for close textual analysis is presented in Medhurst, M.J., 'Public Address and Significant Scholarship: Four Challenges to the Rhetorical Renaissance', in Leff, M.C. and Kauffeld, F.J. (eds), *Texts in Context: Critical Dialogues on Significant Episodes in American Political Rhetoric*, Davis, CA: Hermagoras Press, 1989, pp. 29-42. Medhurst writes: 'The first step in pushing close textual analysis to the forefront of the agenda is to state unequivocally...that close examination of a text...is both intellectually respectable and potentially productive of various sorts of critical knowledge' (pp. 35-36). See also David Zarefsky's analysis of the role of rhetorical theory in the critique of texts, particularly his development of the highly



heuristic notion of the 'theory of the case', in his 'The State of the Art in Public Address Scholarship', in Leff and Kauffeld (eds), *Texts in Context*, pp. 13-27, and his 'Four Senses of Rhetorical History', in Turner, K.J. (ed.), *Doing Rhetorical History: Concepts and Cases*, Tuscaloosa, AL: University of Alabama, 1998, pp. 19-32.

9. *DNB*, vol. 15, p. 756.

10. *ANB*, vol. 17, p. 291.

11. For a brief description of persecution under the Conventicle Acts, see Barbour, H., and Frost, J.W., *The Quakers*, Richmond, IN: Friends United Press, 1994, pp. 65-66.

12. For a scholarly account of these times, see Braithwaite, W.C., *The Second Period of Quakerism*, ed. Cadbury, H.J., Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2nd edn, 1961, pp. 21-114.

13. *ANB*, vol. 17, p. 292.

14. *ANB*, vol. 17, p. 293.

15. The story of Quaker colonisation is told in Braithwaite, *Second Period*, pp. 399-411. For a more popular, but intelligent, rendering of this story, see Peare, C.O., *William Penn: A Biography*, Philadelphia: J.B. Lippincott, 1957, pp. 245-83.

16. In Webb, M., *The Penns and Peningtons of the Seventeenth Century*, London: F. Bowyer Kitto, 1867, pp. 356.

17. Bronner, E.B., and Fraser, D., 'A William Penn Chronology, 1644-1726', in Bronner and Fraser, *William Penn's Published Writings*, pp. 19-22 (21).

18. *DNB*, vol. 15, p. 759.

19. Bronner and Fraser, *Penn's Published Writings*, p. 21.

20. Bronner and Fraser, *Penn's Published Writings*, p. 21.

21. Braithwaite, *Second Period*, p. 160.

22. For an account of Penn's later years, see Braithwaite, *Second Period*, pp. 151-78 and Peare, *William Penn*, pp. 284-414.

23. For helpful scholarly background on the momentous effects of Nayler's life on the subsequent development of Quakerism, see Bittle, W.G., *James Nayler 1618-1660: The Quaker Indicted by Parliament*, York: William Sessions, 1986; Braithwaite, W.C., *The Beginnings of Quakerism*, ed. Cadbury, H.J., Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2nd edn, 1961, pp. 241-78; and Ingle, H.L., *First among Friends: George Fox & the Creation of Quakerism*, New York: Oxford University Press, 1994, pp. 119-35.

24. Braithwaite, *Beginnings*, p. 252.

25. Quoted in Braithwaite, *Beginnings*, p. 263.

26. Braithwaite, *Beginnings*, p. 267.

27. Braithwaite, *Beginnings*, p. 268.

28. Trevett, C., *Women and Quakerism in the 17th Century*, York: William Sessions, 1995, p. 39.

29. *DNB*, vol. 19, p. 1089. Regrettably, I have been unable to discover any record of Travers' preaching.

30. *DNB* vol. 19, p. 1089.

31. Under the heading 'Travers, Rebecka (1609-1688)', in the *Dictionary of Quaker Biography* (typed copy, LSF) notes: '[George] Fox was a frequent visitor [to Travers' house]; she wrote, in an original letter in [F]riends House (Swarth. MSS. I.395) dated 5.ix.1671: "I was never better pleased with my house then [sic] when hee [sic] was in It & employed it for ye service of truth, or any of his"'.<sup>2</sup>

32. Trevett, *Women and Quakerism*, p. 39.

33. Trevett, *Women and Quakerism*, p. 151.

34. Ochs, D., Jr, *Consolatory Rhetoric: Grief, Symbol, and Ritual in the Greco-Roman Era*, Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina, 2003.

35. Quoted in Braithwaite, *Beginnings*, p. 442.

36. From MS, 'Books of Extracts', quoted in Braithwaite, *Second Period*, p. 417.

37. Braithwaite, *Second Period*, p. 421. For a consideration of the evolution from the printed 'confession' to the journal among Quakers, see Wright, L.M., *The Literary Life of the Early Friends*,

1650–1725, New York: AMS Press, 1966, pp. 193–97. The best work on the narrative significance of early Quaker journals is Higgins, E.F., ‘Narrative and Values in the Quaker Journals of Thomas Chalkley, Elizabeth Ashbridge and John Woolman’, PhD diss., The Union Institute, 1992. See also Bacon, M.H. (ed.), *Wilt thou go on my errand?: Journals of Three Quaker Women Ministers*, Wallingford, PA: Pendle Hill Publications, 1994.

38. Rhetorical scholars have turned considerable attention to memorials and memorializing, particularly focusing on the rhetorical aspects of public memorial design. For a comprehensive review of this literature, see Creasman, P.A., ‘Southern Gospel and its Home in Cyberspace’, in Graves, M.P., and Fillingim, D. (eds), *More than ‘Precious Memories’: The Rhetoric of Southern Gospel Music*, Macon, GA: Mercer University Press, 2004, pp. 235–71. Creasman extends the scholarly focus into consideration of how the ‘community’ of Southern Gospel music fans and performers memorialise and celebrate the lives of departed gospel singers through the agency of Internet websites.

39. From ‘Proposition XI’, *An Apology for the True Christian Divinity*, Philadelphia: Friends Book-Store, 1867, p. 380. On the development of impromptu Quaker preaching see Bauman, R., *Let your Words be Few: Symbolism of Speaking and Silence among Seventeenth-century Quakers*, New York: Cambridge University Press, 1983, and Bauman’s ‘Speaking in the Light: The Role of the Quaker minister’, in Bauman, R., and Sherzer, J. (eds), *Explorations in the Ethnography of Speaking*, New York: Cambridge University Press, 1974, pp. 149–60.

40. For an extended consideration of the theory and practice of impromptu sermonizing among friends, see Graves, M.P., ‘“Thou art but a youth”: Thomas Chalkley Enacts and Defends the Early Quaker Impromptu Sermon’, in Andrews, J.R. (ed.), *Sources of American Identity: Studies in Colonial Rhetoric*, A Rhetorical History of The United States, 1, East Lansing, MI: Michigan State University Press, 2007, pp. 229–74

41. The other seventeenth-century funeral sermon that has surfaced is by Robert Barrow, ‘The Testimony of Robert Barrow, 11th Mo. 16th, 1691 at George Fox [sic] Burial, where were supposed to be Four Thousand Friends besides other People’, MSS Albums, Box 1 [Anonymous] Copy Book (1822, 1823?). Friends Historical Library of Swarthmore College, no page numbers. Not many Quaker sermons of any sort survive from the seventeenth century, so we are fortunate to have even one funeral sermon at hand. For an account of the type of things people said at graveside services, see Braithwaite, *Second Period*, pp. 163, 416 and following.

42. Some of the surviving Quaker sermons include a prayer at the end, for example, Robert Barclay’s sermon delivered at Grace Church Street Meeting, London, May 16, 1688, in *The Concurrence and Unanimity; of the People Called Quakers*, London: J. Sowle, 1711, pp. 1–10.

43. All subsequent quotations from the sermon will have a paragraph number referring to the numbered paragraphs in the typed copy of Penn’s sermon printed in the Appendix.

44. See Graves, ‘Functions of Key Metaphors’.

45. For a succinct introduction to the metaphor of journey, see Frye, N., ‘The Journey as Metaphor’, in Frye, N., *Myth and Metaphor: Selected Essays, 1974–1988*, ed. Denham, R.D., Charlottesville, VA: University Press of Virginia, 1990, pp. 212–26. One of the best treatments of the spiritual journey, particularly as it relates to the Western mystical tradition, is Underhill, E., *Mysticism: A Study of the Nature and Development of Man’s Spiritual Consciousness*, New York: New American Library, 1974. The idea of journey or pilgrimage is one of five key metaphors discovered with frequency in early Quaker sermons. On this topic see my ‘Functions of Key Metaphors’, pp. 373–75.

46. George Roppen and Richard Sommer in *Strangers and Pilgrims: An Essay on the Metaphor of Journey*, New York: Humanities, 1964.

47. The spiritual journey metaphor was developed skillfully by Penn’s fellow public minister, Stephen Crisp, in his *A Short History of a Long Travel from Babylon to Bethel*, London: J. Sowle, 1711. For an analysis of this significant work, see Graves, M.P., ‘Stephen Crisp’s *Short History* as Spiritual Journey’, *Quaker Religious Thought* 26 (1993), pp. 5–23.

48. See, especially, Turner, V., 'Liminal to Liminoid', in *From Ritual to Theatre: The Human Seriousness of Play*, New York: Performing Arts Journal Publications, 1982, pp. 20-60, and 'Notes on Processual Symbolic Analysis', in Turner, V., and Turner, E., *Image and Pilgrimage in Christian Culture: Anthropological Perspectives*, New York: Columbia University Press, 1978, pp. 245-51.

49. Turner, 'Liminal to Liminoid', p. 44.

50. *No Cross, No Crown*, in Barbour, H.S. (ed.), *William Penn on Religion and Ethics*, pp. 39-113.

51. Barbour, *William Penn on Religion and Ethics*, p. 112.

52. Barbour, *William Penn on Religion and Ethics*, p. 113.

53. Nayler, J., *A Message from the Spirit of Truth Unto the Holy Seed*, London: Thomas Simmons, 1658.

54. Condit, M., 'The Functions of Epideictic: The Boston Massacre Orations as Exemplar', *Communication Quarterly* 33 (1985), pp. 284-99.

55. The others are forensic oratory (law court) and deliberative address (legislative assembly). See Aristotle, *Aristotle on Rhetoric: A Theory of Civic Discourse*, trans. Kennedy, G., New York: Oxford University Press, 1991, pp. 48-49.

56. Condit, 'Functions of Epideictic', p. 288.

57. Condit, 'Functions of Epideictic', p. 289.

58. Condit, 'Functions of Epideictic', p. 289.

59. I wish to thank Peter Collins (Dept of Anthropology, University of Durham) for reminding me about this connection to *communitas* in Turner's writing.

60. Turner, 'Liminal to Liminoid', p. 47.

61. Turner, 'Liminal to Liminoid', p. 48.

62. Turner, 'Liminal to Liminoid', p. 48.

63. Condit, 'Functions of Epideictic', p. 290.

64. Condit, 'Functions of Epideictic', p. 291.

65. Condit, 'Functions of Epideictic', p. 291.

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